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ABSTRACT

Using historical statistics and key indicators, data were synthesized to identify longitudinal trends and patterns in the social, economic, and political status of El Paso's Chicanos. Data related to group achievement were analyzed. A framework adapted to local conditions based on the internal colonialism model was used for the periodization of El Paso Chicano history. Data indicated a historical division between the Anglo and Chicano communities along economic, political, and social lines. This separation was partially explained by the perpetual presence of poor immigrants and protracted job competition from cheap labor in Juarez. Such factors affected local wage, working, and living conditions and caused some outmigration. Yet structural discriminatory barriers such as job exclusion and wage differentials, segregation, lack of educational opportunities, and political domination have greatly reinforced such disadvantages and created others, thus contributing to a marked absence of progress among local Chicanos until recently. Several stages were identified in the Chicano community's evolution. There was an initial period of "traditional internal colonialism" (1848-1900), followed by "modified internal colonialism" (1900-1945), and the years 1945-1965 characterized by the emergence of "conditions for incipient decolonization". With the onset of the Chicano Movement in 1965, El Paso's Chicanos entered into "incipient decolonization", and this phase continues to the present. (Author/NQ)

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THE CHICANOS OF EL PASO: A CASE OF CHANGING COLONIZATION[1]

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Introduction

In recent years the use of internal colonialism as a framework for explaining the Chicano experience in the United States has gained in popularity.[2] Briefly stated, Chicanos are seen as colonial subjects because they were incorporated into this country involuntarily as a result of a war of conquest, were quickly relegated to second class status and kept there by oppressive, rigid institutions, and were forced to endure the effects of racism. This analysis emerged as a response to the traditional (and outdated) interpretation that the problems faced by Chicanos stemmed from the group's failure to assimilate into U.S. society. When scholars concerned with this minority first began using the colonial model, the approach received widespread acceptance. Of late, however, its appropriateness has been questioned. For example, some social scientists of a liberal persuasion say that recent political and economic advances made by Chicanos are incompatible with the idea of a contemporary closed colonial system, while others of a different perspective argue that the Chicano condition is best explained within the context of imperialism and international monopoly capitalism.[3] Such contentions exemplify the diversity of views among scholars regarding the study of this ethnic group.

Without denying that other approaches have merit, this presentation lends support to the use of internal colonialism as a viable means for analysis of the Chicano people.[4] The data presented here, however, suggest the need for further refinement of the model. I believe one of the greatest shortcomings in the literature is the static manner in which the colonial experience has been presented. One is left with the impression that the mode of colonization imposed upon Chicanos following the establishment of the international boundary in 1848 has remained unchanged to our day.[5] I submit that at least for El Paso the master-servant relationship has changed over time as conditions both in the United States and in Mexico have changed. The same can probably be said of other places in the U.S. Southwest.

It is important, then, to assess the form and degree that group associations have been modified over time. Historical statistics used in conjunction

with other sources provide a good basis for discerning such variations, and this is the approach utilized here.[6] Employing key indicators, data are synthesized to identify longitudinal trends and patterns in the social, economic, and political status of El Paso's Chicanos. Following some background material on the evolution of the Chicano community in El Paso, an analysis of data related to group achievement will be provided, and some propositions will be offered to help explain the experience of Chicanos in this border city. Finally, a framework adapted to local conditions based on the internal colonialism model will be suggested for periodizing El Paso Chicano history.

Historical Background

The El Paso region became part of the United States in 1848 following a military conflict in which Mexico lost half its territory.[7] At the time El Paso consisted of a mere collection of hamlets. Ysleta, San Elizario, and Socorro, a.. older nearby settlements lying north of the Río Grande, and Paso del Norte (present-day Ciudad Juárez), situated on the south shore, dominated the valley. Between 1850 and 1880 El Paso's population, made up mostly of Mexican Americans, grew from about 300 to 736 persons. (Table 1).

Table 1 about here

The smallness and isolation that characterized this locality was altered when the railroads arrived in the early 1880's. Because of its location as a strategic crossroads for north-south and east-west patterns of traffic, within a few years El Paso evolved into an important transportation center. The economy of El Paso and other centers in the Southwest received strong stimulus as the demand for raw materials increased in the eastern United States. By 1900 El Paso had become a leading supply, processing, smelting, and refining site for the rich mining districts in the surrounding territory. Commerce, industry, and agriculture also prospered from the infusion of new capital and the growing trade with Mexico. By 1910, El Paso's population had increased to almost 40,000 persons, and the city had achieved a prominent position among urban centers situated in the U.S.-Mexico borderlands.[8]

These developments brought some important changes to the lives of Chicanos native to the El Paso area. These people had involuntarily become subjects of a new country, and soon the Anglo minority which moved in relegated them

to a position of relative powerlessness. Uneasy relations resulted from this state of affairs. Shortly after 1848 land hungry individuals from the east aggresively acquired property in the area, often disregarding local rules and traditions.[9] Frequently lawless elements raised havoc in the Mexican American settlements with little interference from established Anglo authority.[10] The foremost example of ethnic tensions and conflict during the period is the Salt War of 1877-1878, when native residents from San Elizario violently resisted the takeover by Anglo entrepreneurs of nearby salt beds, which had been public property since Spanish days.[11] As larger numbers of the dominant society moved into the area after 1880, the subordination of the Chicanos became more accentuated. The decline of their political influence in El Paso County is exemplified by the highly questionnable but successful election campaign of 1883 that shifted the county seat from Ysleta, then the largest town in the valley with a preponderant Mexican American population, to El Paso, where Anglos had become solidly entrenched.[12]

In the twentieth century El Paso has grown at an impressive rate, and Mexican Americans have played a decisive role in that process. By 1900 persons of Mexican descent regained the majority status they had temporarily lost during the late 19th century when Anglos arrived in large numbers. (Table 2).

Table 2 about here

It must be noted that immigrants from Mexico and their descendants have constituted the predominant element in El Paso's Mexican American population since 1900. One period when this ethnic group experienced particularly rapid growth was the era of the Mexican Revolution between 1910 and 1920. During

this time the influx of middle and upper class refugees from Mexico altered the character of the Chicano community, although many of the wealthy newcomers returned to Mexico when the political climate stabilized. An incident that reveals attitudes toward Mexican immigrants then current occurred in 1916. Following the Villista massacre of 15 American engineers at Santa Ysabel, Chihuahua on January 13, a mob of 1,000 revenge seeking Anglos marched on the Chicano community in El Paso vowing to drive out its residents. Street fighting broke out, resulting in injuries to 25 Mexicans and an undetermined number of Anglos. Military authorities averted a major riot by establishing a dividing line between the two groups and ordering a curfew.[13]

As in other areas throughout the Southwest, historically El Paso has welcomed Mexican migrants into the city in time of economic progress but has repelled them during hard times. Due to this pattern, El Paso's Mexican Americans suffered a significant decrease in their numbers during the Great Depression of the 1930's, when thousands were pressured into returning to México "voluntarily" and forcibly.[14] After 1940, the local Mexican American population entered a period of steady growth, and by 1976 Chicanos comprised an estimated 62 percent of the 386,000 residents of El Paso. (Tables 1 and 2).[15]

Since 1900 Mexicans from south of the border as well as Anglos from the northern, eastern, and southern United States have been attracted to El Paso by the economic development which the area has experienced. The locally often cited four C's -- cattle, copper, cotton, and climate (as a health attraction) provided an early and continuing impetus for growth. Seldom mentioned (in public) is a fifth C--Chicanos, whose low paid labor has been a strong factor in luring employers to the region. Major local industries which evolved over the

decades include ore smelting, oil refining, and cement and textile manufacturing. Production of natural gas, leather goods, and lumber have also been important. Wholesale and retail trade have flourished due to the city's large hinterland, which extends far into México. Large financial institutions have developed to meet local as well as regional needs. El Paso continues to be a major railway and trucking terminal, and related secondary industries have evolved due to this factor. Heavy federal investments in the form of military installations and border related agencies (e.g., Customs, Immigration Service) have likewise spurred local growth. Finally, the Old West frontier heritage and the presence of Juárez across the Río Grande have made El Paso a major regional tourist attraction for Americans as well as for Mexicans.[16] El Pasoans are proud of their achievements, and they often speak of their town as "the best kept secret in America." Politicians and other civic leader seldom miss an opportunity to extol the Indian, Spanish, and Mexican heritage, frequently using Spanish phrases to stress the point. Invariably comments are made concerning the local "bicultural" and "bilingual" tradition, and the "amiable" relations between Anglos and Mexican Americans. Many local residents feel that persons of Mexican extraction have lived a happy existence in this desert oasis, and that unlike other cities, El Paso has provided equal opportunity for all its citizens. The section that follows provides empirical data which shed light on the degree and rate of local Chicano progress historically. Following that presentation, several factors will be examined to help explain the statistical record.

Measuring Chicano Progress

Various approaches can be used in studying the social position of any

element within a community. For El Paso's Chicanos, a variety of statistical, documentary, and oral data reflecting economic, political, educational, and social characteristics are presented here to assess the standing over time of this ethnic group in relation to the Anglo population. As the record of the Chicano's place and participation in local institutions is reviewed, it is well to reflect to what extent Chicano representation corresponds to the group's long standing numerical supremacy in the city.

Close space

at the Chicanos' economic

The assessment begins with a look ^ status. Table 3 summarizes the employment structure of the Chicano and Anglo communities of El Paso between 1910 and 1970. The data indicate a protracted concentration of Chicano workers in low skill (and low paying) jobs throughout the period, while the opposite is true for the non-Spanish surname labor force. Mobility among Chicanos has been limited and very slow, with most gains coming after 1940 and principally at the low white-collar and semi-skilled and service levels. Entry of Spanish surname individuals into high white-collar positions has been extremely restricted, with only 3.4 percent falling under this designation as late as 1960, and a slightly improved 6.3 percent by 1970. By contrast, the Anglo labor force has experienced considerably greater expansion at the top since 1910.

Table 3 about here

The modest recent increase of Spanish surnames in high white-collar jobs

indicates that there are more Chicano bureaucrats, managers, businessmen, and professionals in the 1970's. Nevertheless, proportionally these elements still lag far behind their Anglo counterparts and Chicanos are largely absent from influential and policy-making positions in El Paso. Several examples can be given to illustrate this last observation. Among 51 executives of six large corporations in El Paso in 1976, only one had a Spanish surname; not a single other Mexican American had served in such a capacity previously. (Table 4). Spanish surname lawyers have been totally absent from the six largest law firms in the city. (Table 5). No Chicano appears in the long list of presidents of the El Paso Chamber of Commerce in this century. (Table 6). Few Mexican Americans have served as chairpersons of Chamber of Commerce committees. (Table 7). In the Southwestern Sun Carnival Association (an organization which plans and directs the annual Sun Carnival Parade and the nationally televised Sun Bowl game), run largely by prominent merchants, no Mexican American has ever been president, nor did a single Spanish surname individual serve on the executive committee of that body between 1939 and 1974. (Table 8).[17] The absence of Mexican Americans from the economic elite of El Paso is also reflected in the residential patterns in the city's affluent neighborhoods. In 1975 an average of just 3 percent of the heads of households of four selected exclusive neighborhoods had Spanish surnames, while in areas classified as having "high incomes" only slightly over 12 percent of the heads of households had Spanish surnames. (Table 9).

Tables 4-9 about here

Since economic standing figures so prominently in a group's general

status and participation in community affairs, it follows that the unfavorable employment and residential patterns among Chicanos have negatively affected their political position. The extremely low level of Chicano participation in local politics prior to the 1960's is readily domonstrated in Tables 10-12. That various Mexican Americans served as County Judges for El Paso County before the 1880's but none since illustrates the transfer of political power to the Anglo newcomers, whose numbers swelled when the railroads reached the area. (Table 10). Chicanos were able to retain some influence at the county level, however, as Spanish surname individuals continued to represent lower valley precints (centers of Chicano population) in the County Commissioners Court into the 20th century.[18] Even so, in El Paso, the seat of power in the area, Chicanos were effectively excluded from the system for decades. Until the election of Ray Salazar in 1977, only one other Spanish surname person (Raymond Telles) had served as mayor since the incorporation of El Paso as a city in 1873. (Table 10). Between 1881 and 1951, Chicanos had no representation on the El Paso City Council. It has only been since 1971 that two persons of Mexican descent have sat on that body during every administration. (Table 11). With respect to the Board of Trustees of the El Paso Independent School District, no Mexican Americans were members between 1922-1945, and that body has never had more than two Spanish surname representatives. (Table 12).

Tables 10-12 about here

In recent years El Paso's Chicanos have achieved greater political representation, as revealed in Tables 13-15. At the county level, Mexican American officials have increased significantly since the early 1960's, holding slightly over 40 percent of the elected offices by 1976, including two positions in the Commissioners Court. (Table 13). A similar trend can

be seen in the officialdom of the city of El Paso. (Table 14). In the lower house of the Texas Legislature, with the exception of the 58th and 63rd legislatures, at least one Spanish surname person has represented El Paso regularly since 1959. Significantly, between 1967 and 1970 three of the five state representatives were Mexican Americans and, since 1973, the state senator from El Paso has been a Mexican American. (Table 15). It is important to add that in the future at least some Chicano representation in Austin on a regular basis is assured due to the creation of single member state representative districts in El Paso following the passage of a redistricting bill by the Texas Legislature in May, 1975.

Tables 13-15 about here

As with politics, in the field of education data reveal long standing Chicano under representation, although recently some gains have been recorded. Before 1960, not a single director or head of a division in the El Paso public schools was Mexican American, and as late as 1973 only 8 percent of such personnel had Spanish surnames. (Table 16). For decades the schools had very few Mexican American teachers. As recently as 1963-1964, only 15 percent of all the teachers had Spanish surnames, although by 1974-1975 this percentage had increased to almost 28. (Table 17). The University of Texas at El Paso continues to have extremely low representation of Chicanos in faculty and administrative postions. As of the academic year 1975-1976, only 8.5 percent of those occupying such posts had Spanish surnames. (Table 18).[19]

Tables 16-18 about here

Data on intermarriage provide another indication of the position of Chicanos in El Paso's society. According to the authors of the most comprehensive study to date on Mexican Americans nationally, "the pattern of ingroup and outgroup marriages is perhaps the most crucial indicator of the degree of social distance between an ethnic minority and the majority population."[20] The statistics presented in Table 19 show that El Paso's level of Chicano intermarriage with Anglos historically has been low, although in recent decades a significant increase in exogamous marriages has been recorded. The data for El Paso is in line with general patterns observable in other Southwestern cities.[21] Thus, although a growing number of El Paso's contemporary Chicano youth associate more closely with the Anglo community, it is difficult to determine the effects of exogamy outside the realm of social relations.

Table 19 about here

Further evidence of the great distance that separates the Mexican American and Anglo communities in El Paso County is provided by the 1970 U.S. Census, which revealed that the median income for non-Spanish surname families at that time was $9,000, while for Spanish surname families it was $6,500; the median years of schooling for non-Spanish surname adults was 13, while for Spanish surnames it was nine; the percentage of non-Spanish surname adults graduating from high school was 73 percent, while for Spanish surnames it was 32 percent.[22]

Explaining Underachievement

Any explanation of the extremely slow progress over time among El Paso's Chicanos must begin with the unique border location of this city. El Paso has

always been a principal port of entry for millions of Mexican immigrants. Over the decades tens of thousands of these migrants have settled here either temporarily or permanently, thus providing a constant infusion into the city's population of predominantly undereducated, low skill, non-English speaking people with "culture of poverty" characteristics. These elements have naturally acted as a constant depressant with regard to the working and living conditions of the total Chicano community. Even so, it is important to note that since the late 1930's U.S.-born persons have predominated in the total El Paso Chicano population, and the native group has grown from 63 percent in 1940 to 80 percent by 1970. (Table 2). Thus casting of blame on the constant stream of immigrants may perhaps be justified to a significant degree in the first two generations (1870's to 1930's), but that argument loses considerable force for recent decades.

A second by-product of the border location has been the pressures emanating from the reservoirs of cheap labor immediately across the Río Grande. Historically El Paso employers have hired great numbers of "Green Card" commuters (legally admitted U.S. immigrants who prefer to live on Mexican soil because of the cheaper cost of living there) and illegal aliens who have been willing to accept substandard wages and working conditions. This competition has seriously hurt Chicano efforts to improve their employment and living status.[23] It comes as no surprise that El Paso ranks in the bottom 5 percent in per capita income among the nation's 246 Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas and that local unemployment levels are routinely well above the national average. One result of the unfavorable labor competition from across the river has been the Chicano outmigration from El Paso to the interior of the United States. Between 1960 and 1970 El Paso County recorded a negative net

migration of 33,000 persons.[24] Outmigration patterns suggest a constant drain of lower and perhaps even some middle class elements whose rising expectations spur them to search for better opportunities elsewhere.

Another explanation for the local Chicanos' lack of progress still given by many persons and once shared widely by misguided and often biased social scientists is the notion that "group deficiencies" account for the marginality of Mexican Americans. This interpretation holds that certain "flaws" in the Mexican culture or character have made Chicanos responsible for their own situation. Value orientations like traditionalism, conservatism, non-ambitiousness, personalism, fatalism, individualism, factionalism, complacency, emotionalism, docility, and machismo are said to form part of the Mexican world view and their effect has been to impede progress. Recent research has found that such behavior is indeed present to varying degrees among some elements of the Mexican American community, just as it exists among some elments of many other racial, ethnic, or national groups. The problem, however, is not racial or cultural in nature, but rather emanates from social class standing. Any group living under socioeconomic circumstances similar to those of disadvantaged Chicanos has been found to exhibit values such as the above.[25] Traditional or pre-industrial attitudes have no doubt existed among some Mexican Americans in El Paso, but their extent and impact on the group are impossible to determine. What is clear, however, is that in the past too much emphasis has been placed on internal "handicaps" and little attention given to external forces that have contributed to Chicano underdevelopment. Further, it is seldom recognized that barriers constructed by the dominant society have in themselves aided in the shaping and reenforcing of "negative" cultural values (in the context of a capitalistic, industrial society) among

the lower sectors of the Chicano community.

In his study of Boston, Stephan Thernstrom assigns the least importance to cultural values as an explanation of historical differences in occupational achievement between blacks and whites. Rather, "active" and "structural" discrimination head his list of factors that help explain the traditional low position of blacks in relation to whites.[26] To Thernstrom, active discrimination means the practice of denying equal opportunity to individuals simply on the basis of race, ethnicity, sex, or religion, while structural discrimination "refers to features of the labor market that, without deliberate prejudicial intent on the part of the employers, serve nontheless to restrict the opportunities open to members of certain groups."[27] Thernstrom concludes that the lack of progress among Boston's blacks is due primarily to external barriers and "peculiarities in white culture," rather than internal weaknesses in black culture.[28]

Structural Obstacles in El Paso

As in the case of Boston's blacks, El Paso's Chicanos have also faced serious external barriers to social and economic mobility. In his study of Chicano workers in El Paso between 1900 and 1920, historian Mario T. García documents the racial dualism that existed in the city at that time. He concludes that occupational and wage discrimination, housing and school segregation, limited educational opportunities, and labor union policies which created divisions between Chicano and Anglo workers were important factors in the isolation of Mexican Americans as a source of inexpensive labor.[29]

García relates how the local business and industrial establishment used all too familiar techniques to keep Chicanos "in their place." For example, many employers justified wage differentials between female Anglo and Chicana

workers on the contention that Chicanas, who received less pay for the same work, were less efficient and their cost of living was cheaper.[30] In 1919, F. B. Fletcher, representing several local laundries, testified before the Texas Industrial Welfare Commission that employers were "confronted with the deep seated differences in temperament existing between the Anglo-Saxon and mixed Latin races, the differences between the progressiveness, initiativeness, and energy of the former and the backwardness of the Mexican....."[31] Another witness, R. C. Taylor, professor of economics at the El Paso School of Mines (today the University of Texas at El Paso), stated his belief that Mexicans had the capacity for improvement, "but to attain the general efficiency of the Americans they might develop it in 300 or 400 years."[32] Lee Newman, a so-called "expert" on the conditions of Mexicans in El Paso, remarked that lower wages were justified because members of this group

> can live 75 percent cheaper than Americans and their staple food, even among the highest class and the rich, is beans and tortillas. They seem happy and picture shows are their delight. I think as they never had any better conditions they are content.[33]

Oral history interviews with Chicanos who were active in the El Paso labor force in the first half of the twentieth century indicate that discrimination in employment remained a part of the local setting for decades. Charles V. Porras, a timekeeper for the city during the 1920's, recalls that few Mexicans held jobs comparable to his in the municipality. "They just didn't make them available to us... Policemen were few and far between, too. And they were all just buck privates -- patrolmen. We had, of course, truck drivers and we had laborers but... the white-collar jobs, no."[34] Ramona González remembers that Mexicans customarily received less pay than Anglos for doing the same (and often, more) work as Anglos in

clerical and sales jobs. She recalled one instance during the 1920's when she was paid $5 a week less than an Anglo female employee whom she had trained as a bookeeper and whose work, according to Mrs. González, was less satisfactory than hers. What made it worse was that the Anglo woman had no formal training in the field, while she did, added Mrs. González.[35]

The late Cleofas Calleros, a veteran social worker, local historian, and community activist, recalled the general absence of Mexicans in skilled and clerical positions in the railroads in the 1910's and 1920's. Referring to more recent years, Calleros' impression was that many employers continued to treat Mexican Americans differently from Anglos while certain firms excluded the former altogether.

> What was the use of a Mexican going to high school when he couldn't get a decent job? Take a girl who graduated. She went to work for_____ for $15 a week, and she could speak English and Spanish and wait on customers in two languages. Then you have on the same counter an Anglo girl, also a high school graduate. She would be placed in charge of that Mexican girl at the counter, and her pay would be $20 or $25 per week. And she could not wait on Mexican customers because she didn't know Spanish. There were no Mexican men or women working in the banks, none in the Electric Company, the Gas Company, the Water Company.... Insurance offices... never hired Mexicans.... [These practices] ended when President John F. Kennedy put in the Civil Rights Act.[36]

In addition to disparate opportunities in employment, El Paso's Mexican Americans have endured the effects of separation and inequality in the all-important field of education since the establishment of local public schools. In a historic decision, U.S. District Judge William S. Sessions ruled on December 23, 1976 that the El Paso Independent School District was guilty of maintaining and fostering a dual school system, and ordered the creation of a desegregation plan and implementation of other remedies to eliminate long standing discrimination against Mexican Americans.[37] Data from the files of this case follow to illustrate the experience of Chicanos in the local schools. When the first public school opened in 1885, only 4 percent of those attending had Spanish surnames, yet Mexican American youth constituted 35 percent of

the school age children between the ages of 6 and 18 years. Moved by the need to provide educational facilities for Mexican American children, in 1887 one Olivis V. Aoy founded a private school at his own expense. Five years transpired before the district incorporated this new institution under the designation "The Mexican Preparatory School." By 1899 school officials had organized another "Mexican School," Alamo Elementary, to relieve overcrowding at Aoy. At the turn of the century El Paso had separate schools not only for Mexican Americans and Anglos, but also for Blacks, who constituted a relatively small minority in the city's population.[38] Qualitatively, the schools attended by Blacks and Chicanos lagged far behind those of the Anglos. García documents the isolation of Mexican American students, their overcrowded classrooms, extremely high drop out rates, and the emphasis on manual and domestic training, instead of academic instruction, in the south El Paso schools. García notes that out of 834 students who graduated from the local high school between 1898 and 1928, only 22, or less than 3 percent, had Spanish surnames.[39]

Dr. Paul S. Taylor, a retired professor of Economics at the University of California at Berkeley well known for his extensive works on Mexican Americans during the 1920's recalls that segregation in the shools in El Paso County at that time was comparable to that found in the Texas Lower Río Grande Valley, a region famous for its extreme anti-Mexican sentiment. Racial prejudice in El Paso constituted "a substantial part of the reasoning given me for the segregation," remarks Dr. Taylor. "[There was] lower attendance among the different racial [minorities], less adequate provision of the school building facilities, transportation of children to or from school, teaching staff, etc."[40] Several educators interviewed by Dr. Taylor in the 1920's elaborated on prevailing attitudes toward Mexican American students. "Most of the Mexican children seem to want to study for white-collar jobs when they are not well fitted for them," stated the principal of El Paso's Bell School. "They are all right at learning by rote but not at reasoning."[41] The Superintendent of Schools at nearby

Clint, Texas commented:

> It would be more economical for the Mexicans to be admitted to the American school building, but the Americans don't want the Mexican children and prefer to maintain a Mexican school. There are about twelve Mexicans in the American school. They enter after finishing the third grade. The Americans let them in because they have to. From an educator's standpoint we should educate the Mexicans as citizens. From the farmer's point of view education may spoil labor. We need somebody to do the labor. The reason for wanting the Mexicans separate is race prejudice. Mexicans are regarded as a servant class.
>
> We have sixteen in the Mexican primary, fourteen in the second grade, and ten in the third. The compulsory attendance law is not enforced. No one is interested in enforcing it. If they did it would cost a lot of money to provide schools and equipment. Three years ago the Americans took pride in saying that no Mexicans in the American school had amounted to anything, that is, represented the school. Since then some of them have been on teams, etc.[42]

The Superintendent of Schools in El Paso, who felt Mexicans "were not intellectually inferior" because he had "seen too many intelligent ones to believe that," told Dr. Taylor that El Pasoans wanted "to separte the Mexicans." "They [Anglos] want the $15 per capita tax and then don't want the Mexicans to go to school. With seventy-seven Mexican children in one of our districts about $185 a month is paid for teachers' salaries ; $1,100 a month goes to the teachers at the American School with about fifty-three pupils."[43]

In later decades fixed attendance boundaries and the construction of schools in selected sites assured predominantly Anglo or Mexican schools. The creation of Bowie High School (for Chicanos) in 1927 in the southern-most part of El Paso and Austin High School (for Anglos) in 1930 in the northeast illustrates the point. Students from the two groups were further segregated by feeder patterns which fostered ethnic isolation. In succeeding

years, the non-central location of new high schools and the development of "open zones," where students had the choice of attending one of two schools, served to channel Anglo students to Anglo schools and Chicanos to Chicano schools. The impact of these and other factors are reflected in the ethnic composition of the schools, where in the late 1970's many elementary schools and several high schools had Chicano enrollments of 70 percent or better.[44]

In addition to segregation, Chicano students have endured the attendant ills which accompany isolation from the mainstream. Inferior facilities, underfunding, poor counseling, emphasis on vocational training, irrelevant curriculum, absence of Chicano teachers and administrators, suppression of the Spanish language, the instilling of a sense of cultural inferiority, abuse of Anglo-biased testing instruments, and other practices familiar to educators further explain Chicano underachievement in education.[45]

Aside from the obstacles encountered in education and employment, Chicanos have also faced formidable barriers that have forestalled their integration into the political system. While lack of research makes it impossible at this time to present a comprehensive list of the mechanisms which have historically been used to thwart Chicano political participation in El Paso, some important points can be raised.[46] In Texas and other southern states the use of the poll tax as a pre-requisite for voting disenfranchised large numbers of Chicano and other minority voters for decades, until the U.S. Supreme Court declared the practice unconstitutional in 1966. Yet even without a poll tax, contemporary voting registration methods are not simple, convenient, and easy enough to enlist greater participation in poor neighborhoods where a voting tradition has not been established at the level seen in the middle and upper class sections of the city. Holding registration at only one centralized loca-

tion (such as the county courthouse) requires Chicanos to make an extra effort since they often have transportation problems and frequently feel ill at ease in governmental offices. Further, complex ballots and voting procedures serve to intimidate persons with limited education and other societal skills.

Political scientist Howard D. Neighbor has shown conclusively that at-large elections for the city council, the school board, and the community college board have diluted the Chicano vote by making it extremely difficult for candidates backed by South El Paso residents to receive support from the dominant Anglo society.[47] Prevailing non-partisan elections prevent Chicanos from effective organization since the mobilization forces of the Democratic party, to which most Mexican Americans belong, are not allowed to function. It is significant that non-partisan elections were introduced in El Paso during the administration of Raymond Telles (1957-1961), the first Mexican American mayor in the city's history. The practice of holding elections on weeks days also reduces Chicano political participation, since many laborers and blue-collar employees simply cannot leave their jobs to vote during working hours and, unlike white-collar employees, are often too physically tired to do so after leaving their jobs.

While the preceding devises are easily identifiable, other mechanisms operate in more subtle ways, but their impact is equally deleterious. Preconceived biases regarding the preparation and abilities of Mexican Americans have led political elites to exclude Chicanos from consideration for elective offices or for appointment to governmental bodies. A standard reason often given is that "qualified" individuals from this ethnic group are not available. Examples of this mechanism at work are provided by William V. D'Antonio and William H. Form in their study of the role of infulentials in decision making

in El Paso-Ciudad Juárez. In 1955 the influentials of El Paso "all agreed that the election of a Spanish-name person as mayor was acceptable in principle, and that it should and would happen, but they were not prepared to have it happen in their lifetime."[48] When a Chicano mayor was elected in 1957, a prevailing attitude among Anglo influentials was expressed by the question, "How can we hold our heads up in the state of Texas when we have a Mexican mayor?"[49] Such notions produce a defensive posture among Mexican American office holders, who feel they must "prove" themselves to the dominant society. Consequently they discharge their duties in an excessively cautious and impartial manner, frequently to the detriment of the interests of their own people.

Another important technique often used against Chicanos politically is the practive of divide and conquer. Pauline Kibbe has commented upon the use of this devise in the Southwest: "When an ambitious and capable Latin American announces for office in opposition to an Anglo incumbent or candidate... Anglos immediately sponsor the candidacy of another Latin American, preferably a personal enemy of the man who has previously announced and thereby split the Latin American vote and assure the election of the Anglo candidate."[50] When outright political exclusion has not been possible, tokenism, or the practice of selecting a very limited number of carefully screened Chicanos for political positions to conform with public opinion, has often been used. Closely related to tokenism is cooptation, which involves the granting of limited status and material benefits to those Mexican Americans deemed "acceptable" to Anglo elites. The chosen individuals, acting as "showpieces," accomodate themselves to the desires of the dominant society and neglect the needs of their own communities. Writing about an instance where Anglos in El Paso included a Mexican American in a political slate in the 1950's, D'Antonio and

Form concluded that "the decision... to nominate Jose Jimenez [fictitious name] for one of the city council posts was only a token step toward recognizing the potential power of the Spanish-name masses, but it also represented an attempt to coopt ethnic leadership."[51]

The election of numerous Mexican Americans to local office in recent years indicates that some major systemic barriers in the political system are now not as difficult to overcome as they once were. Yet it should not be assumed that because a Mexican American is elected to office he/she necessarily represents the interest of Chicanos. In order to get elected to city-wide offices that necessarily involve Anglo support, Spanish surname politicians often go out of their way to downplay their ethnicity while emphasizing their identification with the "entire community," which in practical terms means Anglo interests. Political scientist Rudolph O. de la Garca comments that "such candidates serve to legitimize the Chamber of Commerce platitudes about El Paso's bicultural heritage but they contribute little to solving the problems facing the Mexican American community."[52] Thus, with membership in major bodies like the city council and the school board long based on at-large elections, it has been extremely difficult to elect Chicano leaders who effectively represent Mexican American interests.[53]

The future looks brighter, however, as recent pressure for reform has achieved some results. In spite of opposition from the Chamber of Commerce and other dominant elites, on January 15, 1977 El Pasoans voted to institute single district representation in city council elections. Further, following a poll taken in conjunction with the election of April 1, 1977 where a majority of voters expressed their desire to also have single member district representation on the board of trustees of the El Paso Independent School District, the trustees voted on May 11, 1977 to put the machinery in motion to carry out his mandate. Reports indicate that the trustees for the Ysleta Independent School District are also considering undertaking the same reform.

Lingering Ethnic Prejudices

Institutional changes in the electoral process have led to greater integration of Chicanos in the public life of El Paso. In the private sector, however, much remains to be accomplished. Chicanos are still regarded as foreigners by many members of the dominant society. Further, racial stereotyping, slurring, and de-facto exclusion (conscious or unconscious) are very much alive in El Paso today.

An indication of attitudes held by a sizable segment of the community toward Chicanos is provided by recent "letters to the editor" published in The El Paso Times. Spurred by an open invitation for views regarding bilingual education from now retired editor William Latham, the public responded with an outpuring of opinion. Many letters which expressed opposition to the teaching of Spanish in the shools carried overtones of ethnic prejudice. Subsequently Latham's successor Robert Bentley admitted that "sometimes our editorial page stinks," explaining that "too damned often it reeks with the stench of bigotry spewing from the pens and minds of our 'letters to the editor' writers."[54] The frequently published views of one writer are specially significant since he was an official with the El Paso schools for many years, retiring in 1954 as Director of Special Activities. One of his letters is reprinted here in its entirety, immediately below, while excerpts from communications written by other persons are given to illustrate some prevailing biases.

Glibbers keep insisting our school children be taught a foreign culture in the name of bilingualism. Experience keeps a dear school, but fools will learn in no other. We need to pay more attention to history, and its anticipation of the lessons of time.

The culture we keep hearing so much about imposed many hardships on early colonists in Texas and the Southwest, and neither the Constitution of Mexico or Coahuila-Texas provided for inalienable rights, such as trial by jury or bail. Spanish was the official language, and all were required to speak Spanish in courts of law or elsewhere. The laws were written in Spanish.

Colonization, history tells us, brought complications to this type of "culture." Differences in both race and language were further complicated by the fact that between 1821 and 1836 one revolution succeeded another in Mexico, and no administration was able to serve out its term.

To bring organized chaos out of regimented confusion, the Mexican Congress passed the Law of 1830, which (1) forbid further colonization in Texas, except in two colonies; (2) provided for colonization of Texas by Mexican convicts; (3) imposed abominable high duties on all imports; (4) and trampled on other rights considered to be inalienable.

Is this the kind of culture we keep hearing so much about these days from people who should know better?[55]

..... I, too, am tired of foreign language being forced on the American people. If you live in the United States, speak English. If you don't speak English, either learn it, or go back from where you came.

We never have forced people from different lands to live here, we let them because we believe in equal rights for all. I don't believe in Mexican-Americans, Indian-Americans or Chicanos. If you live in America (legally) then you are an American -- period.....[56]

> Have you read your "want ads" under the employment section? Week after week it is "bilingual this" and "bilingual that," Why don't you print the whole paper in two languages? What language is spoken in the state legislatures, in the Congress, in the contracts to purchase chattles or real estate? That's right, it is English.
>
> Now, why should it be a pre-employment qualification to get a job in this country to speak Spanish? Why not inform the employers with a good tongue-biting editorial that workers should speak and read and write English? This would help the service we receive when purchases are made and the contracts that we get involved with clearer and better understood by the principals.
>
> How about Americans for Americans jobs and send those not citizens of this country back to their countries? Discrimination? No, just watching out for number one, For the record, I speak English and Spanish, have a job and have lived here for 30 years. The Spanish never helped me get a job or start a business.[57]

> ..... The U.S. is the "preferred" Mecca for millions of covtuous persons seeking free education in their own language, free meals, and dozens of free privileges. With the sudden collapse of U.S. administrative authority, we are now permitting 400,000 legal immigrants annually to flood the labor market, plus milllions of illegal immigrants, all clamoring for free economic privileges, free votes, and free special treatment as "ethnic minorities." Very few speak English and are upheld in this peculiar attitude by courts forcing the public school systems to teach exotic languages, dialects and possible smoke signals. People demanding special rights and special treatment come from countries where no special rights exist and only one language is taught, if at all.[58]

Bilingual education was a prominent issue in a controversy which took place in 1976 centered around problems at the El Paso Community College. The result was deep division among El Pasoans along ethnic lines. An uproar over bilingualism and biculturalism in the classroom was fueled by charges of improper affirmative action methods and other emotionally charged administrative procedures undertaken by the allegedly Chicano oriented administration of President Alfredo de los Santos. The clash climaxed on April 3, 1976, when voters split along Chicano-Anglo lines in

a community college board election (at-large) which saw three challengers pledged to De los Santos and supported by Mexican Americans defeated by the three anti-De los Santos incumbents, who drew the larger and better organized Anglo vote.[59] In the period prior to the election, one of the worst examples of racism came out in a virulently anti-Chicano editorial in The Journal, a local weekly newspaper, on March 24, 1976.[60] Discussing moralistic and democratic concerns about supposed mishandling of administrative affairs at the Community College, the editorial maligned not only the local Chicano population, but the neighboring Republic of México as well. Refering to activists whom the newspaper violently opposed, the editorial declared:

> Most of these misguided roisterers have their roots in Mexico, have Spanish surnames -- as the saying goes -- and their mindless support of... [coercive practices] is therefore easily explained. México, since the days of Moctezuma, has anguished under the authoritarian dictatorship of one kind or another, from Cortez to Diaz, and only briefly enjoyed anything resembling democracy mostly because Pancho Villa was a politically uncorruptible man, but since his murder in 1923 democracy in México has become more and more diluted. [?]
>
> **********
>
> Furthermore, in México the tradition is to be governor and steal $60 million or president and get twice that much. This is the political heritage handed down from generation to generation over almost five centuries of Spanish influence below our border. If there is an abundance of treasure, or funds or money, don't administer it for the benefit of all -- TAKE IT! That is what we call the Pizarro Principle, which is primordial in México and still flourishes to such an extent that literally millions of Mexican nationals flee their homeland every year, wade rivers, face all hardships, just to get out of the land of Moctezuma and into the garden of Mazuma, which is what the United States is to these deprived people.

> In this country, under our Anglo-Saxon laws and political structure, these poor people have a chance to pursue happiness and to live like humans, not like peons or animals. Will we allow these monsters to destroy this freedom and opportunity? Will we allow these monsters to institute their so called "culture" for ours, especially when all their is, is thinly disguised slavery and opportuned exploitation of the masses?[61]

Two other examples of biased perceptions on the part of prominent El Pasoans toward Mexican Americans will suffice to illustrate the continuing deep-rooted presence of stereotypes. When asked in an interview sometime in the middle of January, 1977 what the local labor force was best suited for, the President of the El Paso National Bank cited familiar notions about the unique "suitability" of Chicano workers for manual labor. "The manual dexterity of labor is high in El Paso," he remarked. "The Mexican American female has a high resistance to tedium and this is definitely a plus." Pressed by the local district of the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) to apologize for his stereotypical comment, the banker refused, stating that he considered his remarks "complementary" rather than denegrating.[62] He apparently did not understand how his statement served to reinforce long held (but now discredited) beliefs that Mexicans are best suited for physical work rather than employment involving the use of the mind. On March 16, 1977 one of the mayoral candidates told a group of Republicans that Anglos "have to take the lead" in solving unemployment problems among Mexican Americans. "Can we expect the Mexican Americans to employ themselves?", he asked. This politician emphasized the need to obtain more federal grants since most Mexican Americans who desire to start a small business "have no money,.. and no intelligence about it,.. and Caucasians should take the leadership to give it to them."[63]

The preceding discussion does not pretend to definitively explain Chicano under achievement in El Paso. Additional research remains to be done to better understand other external as well as interal causes which have had a bearing on the local situation. Nevertheless, a pattern of protracted slow progress has conclusively been demonstrated, and some major explanations have been set forth. Based on the trends discerned in the data, a framework will now be suggested to view the evolution of the Chicano community in El Paso.

El Paso's Chicanos as a Colonized Group

The weight of the evidence indicates that characteristics of internal colonization have been present in ~~El Paso~~ this urban center with regard to the experience of local Chicanos. An approach different from that taken by previous proponents of the colonization model, however, is seen as necessary to account for evolutionary change observed in El Paso. Rather than viewing colonization as static, four major periods can be identified in the history of this city's Chicanos. First, the years 1848-1900 represent a condition of traditional internal colonialism because the native Mexican Americans became part of the United States through no choice of their own and because a minority of foreigners (Anglos) instituted a new social order which effectively excluded Chicano participation. During this half century, El Paso's Mexican Americans gradually became outsiders in their homeland. Native political representation could be found at the county level, but after Ysleta lost the county seat in 1883, the Chicanos' political fate was sealed for decades to come. As more Anglos moved in after 1880, ownership and control of the means of production changed hands. The Chicano community acted as a supplier of cheap labor and served as a market for outside interests. Socially, the overwhelming

majority of Chicanos was concentrated in the lower classes; meaninful mobility was almost non-existent. Culturally, the dominant society denigrated the Mexican way of life and, as in other places, the Chicano community suffered from an inferiority complex.

The second period, 1900 to 1945, can be described as a time of modified internal colonialism. Use of the qualifier "modified" rests on the following rationale: The pattern of "traditional" colonialism established in the 19th century continued for the native Chicanos but, since the majority of the overall Mexican American population in the El Paso region was composed of immigrants from México by the beginning of the 20th century, a different structural relationship emerged vis-a-vis the dominant society. The position of the immigrants, although a colonial one, is to be distinguished from the status of the native Mexican Americans, who became colonial subjects in their own land. Of course some writers have pointed out that the immigrants came to a land that was once theirs, a region that was acquired by the United States through devious means. Further, the uprooting of people from their homes in México repeatedly has involved Anglo manipulation of Mexican labor pools south of the Río Grande in the never ending search for low-wage laborers. The validity of these points is recognized, yet in this study the distinction of place-of-birth is applied for the sake of specificity. Thus three groups came together in El Paso to co-exist in an unequal relationship in which the Anglos clearly dominated, with a few native Chicanos playing intermediary roles and Mexican immigrants relegated to the bottom of society.

After 1945, important developments began to occur which ushered in a process of "decolonization." Before proceeding with periodization, an explanation of the use of this term here is necessary. Decolonization in the "classic" sense refers to the achievement of political and economic independence on the part of former colonies from their mother countries. Within nations,

decolonization may take place when colonies reach nationhood or, less dramatically, when the colonized choose to struggle within the existing system and succeed in achieving equality with the old master under a modified internal structural relationship. For the El Paso's Chicanos, decolonization is used conservatively to describe the process of achieving meaningful integration (as opposed to assimilation) in the social, economic, and political system as it has existed locally. Since El Paso's Chicanos have not entertained the notion of political separation from the United States, I see the application of decolonization along nationalistic lines as innapropriate, Nor do I believe that the meaning of the term ought to be restricted solely to the idea of separateness. The prevalent hope of most Chicanos has been to gain entry into the "system" at all levels. Thus what is under scrutiny here is the ability of that system, i.e., El Paso's institutions, to permit significant and meaningful participation from elements in the society different from the dominant Anglo Saxon culture. The system, then, is evaluated on its own merits.

The record indicates that between 1945-1965 significant changes took place which established conditions for incipient decolonization, the designation for the third era. New opportunities created by an expanding economy reacting to international forces during the period allowed for some Chicano mobility. During World War II, for the first time Mexican American youths in large numbers had an occasion to mix with the members of the dominant society, to travel, and to gain perspective. The military experience changed expectations, and many G.I.'s returned determined to break out of the cycle of poverty. The World War II G.I. Bill of Rights offered possibilities heretofore unavailable for gaining an education, for buying a house on easy terms, and for securing low-interest business loans. Many who had become NCO's or officers utilized their leadership skills to organize new community groups or to revitalize

existing ones. "A generation of substantially acculturated, reasonably well-educated, men and women came upon the scene, emerging almost at one specific time," observes political scientist Melvin P. Straus. "Some acquired government employment, profiting in part from the five-point examinations bonus given with veteran status. Many others who did not pursue higher education were taught trades and were prepared as skilled laborers."[64] This pattern repeated itself after the Korean War with the enactment of another G.I. Bill for veterans of this conflict.

The results of these new opportunities are reflected in occupational statistics for the period: Whereas slightly over 18 percent of the Chicano labor force had low white collar jobs in 1940, close to 30 percent had such employment by 1960. Concurrently, the percentage of Chicanos concentrated at the unskilled and menial service level declined from about 41 percent to 28 percent during those years. (Table 3). Chicanos also began entering certain professions in greater numbers. A case in point is the teaching field, where the proportion of Spanish surname teachers in El Paso's public schools went up from just 3 percent in 1945-1946 to almost 14 percent by 1960-1961. (Table 11).[65]

In sum, the entry of post World War II Chicanos into better paying skilled blue-collar and some white-collar occupations allowed for the establishment of an occupational and educational infrastructure which made it easier for the next generation to take advantage of modest but unprecedented favorable circumstances for advancement that evolved in the mid-1960's.

The next period, incipient decolonization, understood to mean that Chicanos aarived at roughly one fourth of the distance necessary to cover to achieve parity with the Anglo population, began in 1965 with the onset of the

Chicano Movement and continues to the present. The impact of the civil rights legislation and other reforms instituted by the federal government in response to demands for equality of opportunity by minorities has facilitated Chicano entry into a pattern of slow but self-sustaining and ever increasing growth in some important occupational categories. As of 1970, slightly over 6 percent of the Chicano labor force held white collar jobs, a figure approximating one fourth of the percentage for Anglo employees who held such positions (27 percent). (Table 3). At the same time, however, Spanish surname representation in the upper echelons of business, banking, and the professions remained pathetically minute. Nevertheless, Chicanos have made important advances in government, increasing their representation among elected city officials from 13 percent in 1965 to 33 percent by 1976, and among civil service officials from 6 percent to 2[illegible] percent during the same period. (Table 17). Election successes have also become more frequent, although Mexican American candidates who identify with the Chicano community have found it very difficult to attain community-wide offices. In this regard, the election of Ray Salazar as mayor signals new political currents. Further, with the adoption of single member district representation in city council and school board elections, Chicanos should increase their effectiveness in the political system. The process of development has been clearly established, although the gains continue to come at an unsatisfactory rate.

Within the periodization framework adopted, when Chicanos reach the halfway point toward parity with Anglos they will achieve <u>intermediate decolonization</u>, and when three-quarters of the distance has been covered they will enter <u>advanced decolonization</u>. It is difficult to predict when <u>complete decolonization</u>, defined as proportional participation and representation at all levels of the

society, will arrive, but historical evidence and the law of geometric progression suggest that it will probably take less time to move through the latter stages that it took to cover the initial phases. Of course greater efforts on the part of local institutions to expand opportunities and to eliminate existing structural barriers in the economy, the political system, and society must be forthcoming if Chicanos are to make further progress. Chicanos themselves will have to strive for greater unity and action than ever before to bring about a higher rate of advancement.

Conclusion

Because of its function as an international crossroads, El Paso has played an important role in the evolution of the Chicano population throughout the United States. Mexican Americans in this border city form a significant part of that broader community, and their experience yields insights into general Southwestern history. The data presented here indicate a historical division between the Anglo and Chicano communities in El Paso along economic, political, and social lines. This separation is partially explained by the perpetual presence of poor immigrants and protracted job competition from cheap labor in Juárez. Such factors have affected local wage, working, and living conditions and have caused some outmigration to the interior of the United States. Yet structural discriminatory barriers such as job exclusion and wage differentials, segregation, lack of educational opportunities, and political domination have greatly reenforced such disadvantages and created many others, thus contributing to a marked absence of progress among local Chicanos until recently.

Using the colonization framework, several stages are identified in the evolution of the Chicano community. We can speak of an initial period of traditional internal colonialism between 1848-1900, followed by modified internal colonialism during 1900-1945, and the years 1945-1965 characterized by the emergence of conditions for incipient decolonization. With the onset of the Chicano Movement in 1965, El Paso's Chicanos entered into incipient decolonization, and this phase continues to the present. Other periods to follow include intermediate decolonization and advanced decolonization. The final stage, complete decolonization, or proportional participation and representation at all levels of the local society, looms sometime in the future.

This periodization scheme, which points out the utility of viewing

colonization in the United States from an evolutionary perspective, could perhaps serve as a point of departure for analyzing the development of Chicano communities in other Southwestern cities where settlement and immigration trends similar to those of El Paso may be observed. The technique of utilizing historical statistics gathered from local sources can also be used to evaluate the degree and rate of achievement of Chicanos in such localities. In areas where conditions have differed, evolutionary patterns can profitably be contrasted to the findings presented here. I submit that a series of this type of case studies would aid historians and other social scientists in refining current thinking about the dynamics of internal colonialism, and in formulating broad hypotheses regarding Chicano social mobility in the United States.

FOOTNOTES

1. Many persons aided me in the collection of the data presented in this study, and their contributions are gratefully acknowledged. I thank Z. Anthony Kruszewski (Director of the Cross Cultural Southwest Ethnic Studies Center at U. T. El Paso) and the Texas Bicentennial College Program for sponsoring the participation of research assistants in the project. Special thanks go to José P. Arce, who spent many hours researching residential patterns in El Paso, and my wife Jeri, who participated in all phases of the study. I am also appreciative of the data contributed by the following former students in my Chicano history class: Rhonda Hartman, Samuel Torres, Daniel Mendoza, and María Ruiz. [redacted]. Rudolph O. de la Garza, Howard D. Neighbor, and Mario T. García read earlier versions of the manuscript and offered helpful suggestions. A preliminary draft was presented at the annual meeting of the Western Social Science Association, Tempe, Arizona April 29-May 1, 1976.

2. The internal colonialism model as it applies to Chicanos is discussed in the following works: Rodolfo Acuña, Occupied America: The Chicano's Struggle for Liberation (San Francisco: Canfield Press, 1972); Tomas Almaguer, "Toward the Study of Chicano Colonialism," Aztlán, II: 1 (Spring, 1971), 7-20; Mario Barrera, Carlos Muñoz, and Charles Ornelas, "The Barrio as Internal Colony," in Harlan Hahn (ed.), Urban Affairs Annual Review, VI (1972), 465-498; Guillermo V. Flores, "Race and Culture in the Internal Colony: Keeping the Chicano in His Place," in Frank Bonilla and Robert Virling (eds.), Structures of Dependency (1973), 189-223; Joan W. Moore, "Colonialism: The Case of the Mexican Americans,"

Social Problems, XVII:4 (Spring, 1970), 463-472; and F. Chris García and Rudolph O. de la Garza, The Chicano Political Experience: Three Perspectives (North Scituate, Mass.: Duxbury Press, 1977).

3. García and De la Garza, The Chicano Political Experience, provide an example of the liberal approach, and Gilbert G. González, "The Internal Colony Model," Latin American Perspectives, I:1 (Spring, 1974), 154-161, offers an example of the radical view.

4. A Chicano is defined here as a U.S. or México-born person of Mexican extraction permanently and legally residing in the United States. Chicano is used synonomously with "Mexican American," "person of Mexican extraction," "person of Spanish surname," and other terms often used to refer to members of this ethnic group. In some instances the term "Mexican" is used generically to include Chicanos. Following the practice at the border, the term "Anglo" refers to white persons of northern European origin who reside in the United States. No pejorative connotations are intended in the use of any of these ethnic appellations.

5. One exception to this criticism is García and De la Garza's study. These authors recognize the utility of internal colonialism to explain "the history of the Chicano people and even some of their current conditions... but it [internal colonialism] does not seem to be of much use as an accurate descriptive · analytical model of modern-day conditions, or as a guide to future directions for the Chicano movement." The Chicano Political Experience, 195. Despite their reference to historical colonization, García and De la Garza do not analyze the model in the context of evolutionary change.

6. The use of quantitative data in reconstructing the social history of ordinary persons, e pecially the poor and ethnic minorities, has been favored recently by U.S. historians who adhere to the "new" urban history movement. Two examples of this school are Stephan Thernstorm, The Other Bostonians: Poverty and Progress in the American Metropolis (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), and Peter R. Knight, The Plain People of Boston, 1830-1860: A Study in City Growth (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971). Among the students of the Southwest who have applied quantitative techniques to their analyzes of Chicano social mobility are Richard Griswold del Castillo, "Myth and Reality: Chicano Economic Mobility in Los Angeles, 1850-1880," Aztlán, VI:2 (Summer, 1975), 151-172; Mario T. García, "Racial Dualism in the El Paso Labor Market, 1880-1920." Aztlán, VI-2 (Summer, 1975), 197-220; and Ricardo Romo, "Mexican Workers in the City: Los Angeles, 1915-1930" (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, UCLA, 1975).

7. The most comprehensive surveys of general El Paso-Ciudad Juárez history are C. L. Sonnichsen, Pass of the North; Four Centuries on the Rio Grande (El Paso; Texas Western Press, 1968); Conrey Bryson, The Land Where We live: El Paso del Norte (El Paso: Aniversario de El Paso, 1973); Armando B. Chávez M., Historia de Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua (México: n.p., 1970); and Oscar J. Martínez, "Border Boom Town: Ciudad Juárez Since 1880" (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, UCLA, 1975).

8. Martínez, "Border Boom Town," 59-62; Mario T. García, "Obreros: The Mexican Workers of El Paso, 1900-1920" (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, U.C San Diego, 1975), Chapter 1.

9. El Republicano de Santa Fé reported on April 21, 1849 that native residents in the El Paso area were very upset with the manner in which newcomers were taking possession of local resources. "Authorities in Paso del Norte have had sour and repeated arguments over the limits of the border and ejidos [communal lands] with neighboring North-American officials, who have not only taken over Ysleta, Socorro, and San Elizario..., but also ejidos from Paso del Norte itself [redacted] and from other towns on the Río Bravo. General disgust exists in those settlements due to the manner in which Americans are being given [land] as though it was theirs." Reprinted in El Faro, Periódico del Gobierno del Estado Libre de Chihuahua, May 22, 1849, 4. Translation mine.

10. See, for example, Sonnichsen, Pass of the North, 136-137.

11. See Charles L. Sonnichsen, The El Paso Salt War of 1877, (El Paso: Carl Hertzog and the Texas Western Press, 1961).

12. Sonnichsen summarizes the results of the election: "When the score was in, El Paso had 2,252 votes, Ysleta had 476. Since every Mexican who could be rounded upo on either side of the river had been induced to vote at least once, the total number of ballots was far in excess of the number of qualified voters in the county. Ysleta protested vigorously, but nobody listened." Sonnichsen, Pass of the North, 347.

13. Throughout 1916 other incidents kept relations strained between Anglos and Mexicans on both sides of the river at the Pass of the North. These incidents included a fire that broke out at the El Paso jail in which

a dozen Mexicans were killed or injured, the raid on Columbus, New Mexico by Villista troops, and General John J. Pershing's punitive expedition into México. Martínez, "Border Boom Town," 78-79.

14. Martínez, "Border Boom Town," 170-177.

15. Persons familiar with the demographic dynamics of El Paso's population believe the proportion of Mexican Americans currently falls somewhere between 60 and 64 percent, although these estimates remain unofficial. Telephone communication with the El Paso City Planning Department, October 7, 1976.

16. For discussions on recent economic growth in El Paso, see Patricia Reschenthaler, Postwar Readjustment in El Paso, 1945-1950 (El Paso; Texas Western Press, 1968), and John M. Richards, Economic Growth in El Paso, Texas, 1950-1962 (El Paso; Texas Western Press, 1964).

17. It is significant that prior to 1971, not one Mexican American girl served as queen of the Sun Carnival. Before that year, the queen was selected annually from a pool of girls from prominent families whose parents were willing to spend about $15,000 in Sun Carnival activities if their daughter received the honor. This effectively shut out the Mexican

American community from participating in the competition, since few families from this group could afford such sums. Community groups such as the League of Latin American Citizens (LULAC) believed that this system was maintained to prevent Mexican American girls from becoming queens. Responding to pressure, Sun Carnival officials changed the method in 1970, eliminating the required large family contribution, shifting the selection of candidates to women's civic and service organizations (each organization pays a few hundred dollars for the privilege of sponsoring a candidate), and leaving the final decision up to a panel of judges from out-of-town. Under the new system, two Spanish surname girls have been chosen as queens during the period 1971-1977.

18. Minutes, El Paso County Commissioners Court, 1876-1929.

19. A survey taken around 1972 revealed that among the 246 tenured professors at UTEP, only 3 had Spanish surnames. Ellwyn R. Stoddard, Mexican Americans (New York: Random House, 1973), 211.

20. Leo Grebler, Joan W. Moore, and Ralph C. Guzman, The Mexican-American People The Nation's Second Largest Minority (New York: The Free Press, 1970), 405. Since Chicanos outnumber Anglos in El Paso, the word "dominant" should be substituted for "majority" to reflect local conditions.

21. Ibid, 406-408.

22. El Paso Economic Review (December, 1972), 2.

23. Oscar J. Martínez, "Chicanos and the Border Cities: An Interpretive Essay," Pacific Historical Review, XLVI: 1 (February 1977), 105.

24. Ibid.

25. Stoddard, Mexican Americans, 41-43, 158-170.

26. These are the variables discussed by Thernstrom, in the order of their importance: (1) active and structural discrimination, (2) background handicaps, (3) the ghetto as a mobility factor (segregation), (4) differential fertility, (5) institutional completeness (community insulation), and (6) cultural values. Thernstrom, The Other Bostonians, 160-175.

27. Ibid, 160-161.

28. Ibid, 218.

29. García, "Obreros," Chapters 5-6.

30. Ibid, 161, 163, 165, 168-169.

31. Ibid, 165.

32. Ibid, 168-169.

33. Ibid, 168.

34. Oral history interview with Charles V. Porras; El Paso, November 18, 1975, by Oscar J. Martínez. Deposited at the Institute of Oral History, University of Texas at El Paso.

35. Oral history interview with Ramona González, El Paso, May 16, 1976, by Oscar J. Martínez. Deposited at the Institute of Oral History, University of Texas at El Paso.

36. Oral history interview with Cleofas Calleros, El Paso, September 14, 1972, by Oscar J. Martínez. Deposited at the Institute of Oral History, University of Texas at El Paso.

37. David Alvarado, et. al., Plaintiffs, vs. El Paso Independent School District, et. al., Defendants, School Desegregation Suit, EP-70-CA-279, U.S. District Court for the Western District of Texas, El Paso Division (1975). See Judge William S. Sessions' "Findings of Fact and Conclusions of Law" (December 23, 1976), and "Memorandum Opinion and Order" (December 23, 1976). The case is hereafter cited as Alvarado vs. El Paso Independent School District.

38. Alvarado vs. El Paso Independent School District, "Summation for Plaintiffs" (December 31, 1975), 2-6.

39. Garcia, "Obreros," 173-187. Statistics appear on p. 185.

40. Alvarado vs. El Paso Independent School District, deposition of Paul S. Taylor, June 12, 1975, Plaintiffs Exhibit 2A, 10-11, 17.

41. Statement made in the 1920's; precise date not given. Alvarado vs. El Paso Independent School District, field notes by Taylor, undated. Plaintiffs' Exhibit 2A-3.

42. Statement made in the 1920's; precise date not given. Alvarado vs. El Paso Independent School District, field notes by Taylor, undated, Plaintiffs' Exhibit 2A-5.

43. Statement made in the 1920's; precise date not given, Alvarado vs. El Paso Independent School District, field notes by Taylor, Plaintiffs' Exhibit 2A-2.

44. Alvarado vs. El Paso Independent School District, "Summation for Plaintiffs," 7-12, 15-19.

45. Ibid, passim.

46. Most of the "mechanisms" of political domination listed in the discussion that follows are summarized in Barrera, et. al., "The Barrio as Internal Colony," 488-490.

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47. Howard D. Neighbor, "Dilution of the Chicano Vote in El Paso," paper delivered at annual meeting of the Western Social Science, Tempe, April 29-30, 1976. See also Rudolph O. de la Garza, "Mexican American Voters: A Responsible Electorate," in Mexican Americans: Political Power, Influence or Resource, Frank Baird, ed. (Lubbock: Texas Tech Press, 1976), and Charles L. Cotrell, "The Effects of At-Large Elections on the Political Access and Voting Strength of Mexican Americans and Blacks in Texas," paper presented at the Rocky Mountain Social Science Association Meeting, El Paso, April 1974.

48. William V. D'Antonio and William H. Form, Influentials in Two Border Cities (Milwaukee: University of Notre Dame Press, 1965), 138.

49. Ibid, 142.

50. Pauline Kibbe, Guide to Mexican History (New York: International Publications Service), 227. Cited in Barrera, et. al., "The Barrio as Internal Colony," 489.

51. D'Antonio and Form, Influentials in Two Border Cities, 231.

52. Rudolph O. de la Garza, "Voting Patterns in Bicultural El Paso : A Contextual Analysis of Mexican American Voting Behavior," Aztlán, V: 1-2, 256.

53. Ibid, 256-257; Neighbor, "Dilution of the Chicano Vote in El Paso."

54. Editorial, The El Paso Times, August 22, 1976.

55. The El Paso Times, May 25, 1976.

56. Ibid, June 13, 1976.

57. Ibid, April 25, 1975.

58. Ibid, July 11, 1976.

59. The El Paso Community College issue was thoroughly covered in the local media. Many articles appeared in the El Paso Times, the El Paso Herald Post, and The Journal between January and April, 1976.

60. The Journal, March 24, 1976.

61. Ibid.

62. El Paso Times, January 19, 1977.

63. It should be noted that this candidate was not perceived as a serious contender by the group he was addressing as well as other audiences, and his unorthodox style drew repeated laughter. Whether serious or not, his remarks are indicative of popularly held negative perceptions about Chicanos among many Anglos. At best his statements were in extremely poor taste and at worst crassly racist, serving to perpetuate vicious stereotypes. El Paso Times, March 17, 1977, 2-B: 3.

64. Melvin P. Straus, "The Mexican-American in El Paso Politics," in Clyde J. Wingfield, ed., Urbanization in the Southwest (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1968), 61.

65. The post-World War II patterns described here are observed throughout the Southwest, although progress was more pronounced in some areas than others. Grebler, et. al., The Mexican American People, 216-218.

Table 1

Population Growth in the El Paso Area, 1836-1973

	El Paso		El Paso County	
	Total	Percent Change Over Preceding Year	Total	Percent Change Over Preceding Year
1836	15	--	...	--
1850	300	1,900.0	...	--
1860	428	42.7	4,051	--
1870	764	78.5	3,700	- 8.7
1880	736	- 3.7	3,845	3.9
1890	10,368	1,311.4	15,678	307.8
1900	15,906	53.1	24,886	58.7
1910	39,279	146.9	52,599	111.4
1920	77,560	97.5	101,877	93.7
1930	102,421	32.3	131,597	29.2
1940	96,810	- 5.5	131,067	- 0.4
1950	130,485	34.8	194,968	48.8
1960	276,687	112.0	314,070	61.1
1970	322,269	16.5	359,291	14.4
1971	328,367	1.9	366,353	2.0
1972	336,534	2.5	376,062	2.7
1973	344,474	2.4	384,491	2.2
1975	385,601	11.9	...	--

- deficit or decrease in magnitude.
-- does not apply.
... not available.

Sources: El Paso, A Short History of Ysleta, Texas (El Paso: Department of Planning, 1966), 4, 12; ~~EPHP~~ El Paso Herald Post, May 29, 1936, 4:1; U.S. Bureau of the Census, Censuses of Population, 1860-1970; El Paso Chamber of Commerce. The figure for 1975 is an official estimate made by the U.S. Census Bureau. Taken from Oscar J. Martinez, "Border Boom Town: Ciudad Juárez Since 1848" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, U.C.L.A., 1975; revised manuscript, 1977), Appendix 2.

Table 2

Persons of Mexican Extraction in El Paso, 1836-1975*

Year	Number	Percent of Total	Percent Native Born	Percent Foreign Born
1836	15	100.0	...	...
1850	150	75.0	...	...
1860	321	75.0	...	...
1890	2.115	20.4	...	...
1900	8,.48	54.9	...	...
1916	32,724	52.9	...	...
1920	39,571	51.0	22.7	77.3
1930	68,476	66.4	35.6	64.4
1940	55,000	56.8	63.4	36.6
1950	63,976	49.0**	72.1	27.9
1960	125,745	45.4**	71.5	28.5
1970	184,627	57.3	80.3	19.7
1975	239,073	62.0	...	...

* Inaccuracies charaterize these estimates. Calculations between 1836 and 1900, and between 1930 and 1940, come from unofficial sources. All other figures are derived from U.S. Census returns, which suffer from serious flaws. For example, because of miselading and inexact definitions, undercount is present in the official estimates for 1920 and 1950-1970. The 1920 figure was calculated in 1930, based on a designation worked out for the 1930 census which excluded U.S.-born Chicanos of U.S.-born parents and all persons who did not manifest "Mexican" features. Because of the availability of alternative data (based on a school census) the federal census count for 1930 (58,291 "Mexicans") is not listed above. The 1950 and 1960 census enumerations were based on Spanish-surnames, and the 1970 approximation on Spanish language characteristics. Generally, census undernumeration is substantial for the early years but less for recent times.

** Because of the serious weaknesses inherent in the census counts of Mexican Americans in 1950 and 1960, I am convinced that Chicanos comprised over 50 percent of El Paso's population during those years, although I have no alternative data.

... not available

Sources: ~~EHP~~ El Paso Herald Post, May 29, 1936, 4:1; El Paso, A Short History of Ysleta, Texas (El Paso: Department of Planning, 1966), 12; U.S. Bureau of the Census, Censuses of Population, 1860, 1950-1970; U.S. Bureau of the Census, Special Census of the Population of El Paso, 1916; EC, September 13, 1934, 1:3; El Paso, A Short History of South El Paso (El Paso, Department of Planning, 1967), 26. The percentage for 1975 comes from the El Paso City Planning Department. Taken from Oscar J. Martínez, "Border Boom Town: Ciudad Juárez Since 1848" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, U.C.L.A., 1975; revised manuscript, 1977), Appendix Table 3.

Table 3

Occupational Distribution of the El Paso Labor Force, by Surname, 1910-1970
(percent)

	1910		1920		1930		1940		1950		1960		1970	
	S.S.*	Non S.S.**	S.S.	Non S.S.	S.S.	Non S.S.	S.S.	Non S.S.	S.S.	Non S.S.	S.S.	Non S.S.	S.S.	Non S.S.
High White-Collar	1.6	17.0	3.8	29.0	1.8	25.9	1.8	18.4	1.8	17.8	3.4	21.7	6.3	27.4
Low White-Collar	11.2	47.2	18.5	41.5	17.6	44.9	18.4	47.2	26.4	49.4	28.6	50.4	29.2	50.6
Skilled Blue-Collar	12.8	15.6	10.5	12.5	13.1	11.2	12.6	9.6	11.2	12.4	12.2	8.1	7.4	3.6
Semi-skilled and Service Workers	17.0	16.0	21.0	16.9	19.7	16.3	25.8	22.0	33.2	15.6	27.6	13.2	33.7	17.3
Unskilled Laborers and Menial Service Workers	57.4	4.2	46.2	3.1	47.9	1.8	41.4	2.8	27.4	4.8	28.2	6.5	23.5	1.2

* Spanish Surname.
** Non-Spanish Surname.

Source: Random samples of 500 Spanish Surname and 500 non-Spanish Surname persons for each year covered, taken from the El Paso City Directories, 1910-1970. Occupational categories are patterned after Stephen Thernstrom, The Other Bostonians (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), Appendix B, 290-292. Cited in Oscar J. Martinez, "Border Boom Town: Ciudad Juarez Since 1848," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, U.C.L.A., 1975; revised manuscript, 1977), Appendix Table 6.

Table 4

OFFICIALS OF SIX LARGE CORPORATIONS,[a] BY SURNAME, EL PASO, 1935-1976

Year	Total[b]	Spanish Surname	%Spanish Surname
1935	22	0	0.0
1940	30	0	0.0
1945	27	0	0.0
1950	30	0	0.0
1955	38	0	0.0
1960	49	0	0.0
1965	47	0	0.0
1970	45	0	0.0
1976	51	1	2.0

[a]Darbeyshire Steel, El Paso Electric Co., El Paso Natural Gas Co., Mountain Bell Telephone Co., Standard Oil Co., of Texas, Peyton Packing Co..

[b]Total management personnel listed in the source. Not all names of all officials are listed for all years, which accounts for differences in the totals over the years.

Source: El Paso City Directories for the years indicated. Data collected by Jeri Martínez.

Table 5

All Lawyers and Partners and Associates of Six Largest Law Firms, by Surname, El Paso, 1950-1976

Year	All Lawyers			Partners and Associates of Six Largest Law Firms*		
	Total	Spanish Surname	% Spanish Surname	Total	Spanish Surname	% Spanish Surname
1950	110	7	6.4	28	0	0
1955	111	11	9.9	31	0	0
1960	128	11	8.6	42	0	0
1965	184	19	10.3	46	0	0
1970	206	22	10.7	51	0	0
1976	266	34	12.8	74	0	0

* Grambling, Mounce, Deffebach, Sims, Hardie and Galatzan
Kemp, Smith, White, Duncan and Hammond
Scott, Hulse, Marshall and Feuille
Edwards, Belk, Hunter and Kerr
Peticolas, Luscombe, Stephens and Windle
Potash and Bernat, Inc.

Source: El Paso City Directories for years indicated. Data collected by Jeri Martínez.

Table 6

El Paso Chamber of Commerce Presidents, 1900-1976

1900	S. J. Freudenthal
1901	S. J. Freudenthal
1902	C. W. Browne
1903	S. M. Bray
1904	J. A. Smith
1905	J. M. Cannon
1906	E. Moye
1907	A. Courchesne
1908	A. Courchesne
1909	J. A. Happer
1910	David M. Payne
1911	James J. McNary
1912	Walter Clayton
1913	U. R. Stiles
1914	Robert Krakauer
1915	R. Burt Orndorff
1916	R. Burt Orndorff
1917	John M. Wyatt
1918	O. C. Coles
1919	C. N. Bassett
1920	C. N. Bassett
1921	E. C. Heid
1922	A. Schwartz
1923	A. Schwartz
1924	A. H. Warren
1925	Charles Davis
1926	Charles Davis
1927	Frank Fletcher
1928	H. L. Birney
1929	H. L. Birney
1930	E. W. Kayser
1931	L. E. Saunders
1932	L. E. Saunders
1933	W. R. Blair
1934	W. R. Blair
1935	R. B. Price
1936	J. R. Chaney
1937	A. B. Poe
1938	B. M. G. Williams
1939	W. H. Peterson
1940	Barry Hagedon
1941	Allen Grambling
1942	Allen Grambling
1943	Erwin H. Will
1944	George Matkin
1945	Karl O. Wyler
1946	C. M. Irvin
1947	E. M. Kelley
1948	Jack C. Vowell
1949	H. M. Daugherty
1950	J. Francis Morgan
1951	Dick F. Davis
1952	C. G. Whyburn
1953	Tom E. Rogers
1954	E. H. Schwartz
1955	Brooks Travis
1956	Tom C. Patterson
1957	Dick Miller
1958	Dr. W. W. Schuessler
1959	Norman Casner
1960	Chris P. Fox
1961	Judson F. Williams
1962	Ellis O. Mayfield
1963	D. T. Dalton
1964	Maurice E. Hill
1965	S. E. Manzo
1966	Fred Hervey
1967	E. R. Lockhart
1968	Peter de Wetter
1969	Robert H. Given
1970	Robet W. Lee
1971	Ted F. Karam
1972	George V. Janzen
1973	Robert F. Haynsworth
1974	Richard N. Azar
1975	William H. Gardner
1976	Dorr Miller

Source: El Paso Chamber of Commerce, El Paso Today (September, 1975), 25.

Table 7

COMMITTEE CHAIRPERSONS, EL PASO CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, BY SURNAME, 1965-1975

Year	Number of Chairpersons*	Spanish Surname	%Spanish Surname
1965	15	0	0.0
1966	16	0	0.0
1967	43	0	0.0
1968	42	3	7.1
1968/1969	18	1	5.5
1969/1970	28	1	3.6
1970/1971	28	2	7.1
1971/1972	27	2	7.4
1972/1973	...	...	...
1973/1974	25	1	4.0
1974/1975	26	0	0.0
1975	23	2	8.7

Source: El Paso Chamber of Commerce. From data provided by Mark T. Miles.

Table 8

MEXICAN AMERICAN PARTICIPATION IN LEADERSHIP AND SUPPORT ROLES OF THE SUN CARNIVAL ASSOCIATION, 1934-1976

Year	Surname of SCA President	Executive Committee		Directors	
		Total	Spanish Surnames	Total	Spanish Surnames
1934	Non-Spanish	...	...	...	...
1935	Non-Spanish	...	...	...	...
1936	Non-Spanish	26	0*	...	...
1937	Non-Spanish	37	1*	...	...
1938	Non-Spanish	37	1*	...	...
1939	Non-Spanish	39	0*	...	...
1940	Non-Spanish	36	0*	...	...
1941	Non-Spanish	40	0*	...	...
1942	Non-Spanish	...	...	...	...
1943	Non-Spanish	...	...	...	...
1944	Non-Spanish	...	...	...	...
1945	Non-Spanish	32	0*	...	...
1946	Non-Spanish	7	0	28	0
1947	Non-Spanish	5	0	36	0
1948	Non-Spanish	11	0	39	0
1949	Non-Spanish	11	0	52	0
1950	Non-Spanish	15	0	56	1
1951	Non-Spanish	15	0	54	1
1952	Non-Spanish	13	0	59	0
1953	Non-Spanish	13	0	16	0
1954	Non-Spanish	13	0	64	0
1955	Non-Spanish	13	0	63	0
1956	Non-Spanish	14	0	61	1
1957	Non-Spanish	14	0	62	1
1958	Non-Spanish	13	0	62	1
1959	Non-Spanish	13	0	62	1
1960	Non-Spanish	14	0	62	0
1961	Non-Spanish	15	0	70	0
1962	Non-Spanish	18	0	74	0
1963	Non-Spanish	17	0	34	0
1964	Non-Spanish	18	0	41	1
1965	Non-Spanish	17	0	35	3
1966	Non-Spanish	16	0	31	2
1967	Non-Spanish	17	0	40	3
1968	Non-Spanish	16	0	36	3
1969	Non-Spanish	17	0	48	4
1970	Non-Spanish	4	0	40	0
1971	Non-Spanish	5	0	42	3
1972	Non-Spanish	4	0	46	1
1973	Non-Spanish	4	0	...	...
1974	Non-Spanish	3	0	46	3
1975	Non-Spanish	...	...	...	...
1976	Non-Spanish	...	...	...	...

* 1936-1945 Officers and Directors listed together.

... not available.

Source: Southwestern Sun Carnival (annual program), 1935-1976, in Rhonda Hartman, "Mexican American Participation in the Southwestern Sun Carnival" (Term Paper in my possession, 1975), 9.

Table 9

Residential Patterns in the Best Neighborhoods, by Surname, El Paso, 1965-1975

	1965 Heads of Households*		1975 Heads of Households	
	% Non S.S.	% S.S.	% Non S.S.	% S.S.
Selected Exclusive Neighborhoods				
Stonehedge Estates	...	...	96.2	3.8
El Paso Country Club Area	...	...	94.6	5.4
Coronado Country Club Estates	...	...	97.2	2.8
Rim Road	...	...	100.0	0.0
			Mean 97.0	Mean 3.0
High Income Neighborhoods**				
Census Tract — Area				
1.01 Northeast	#	#	94.1	5.9
4.00 Northeast	94.5	5.5	Divided	
4.01 Northeast	#	#	94.6	5.4
11.00 Northwest	93.1	6.9	Divided	
11.01 Northwest	#	#	88.7	11.3
11.02 Northwest	#	#	92.1	7.9
13.00 Northwest	92.7	7.3	85.9	14.1
15.00 Central	91.9	8.1	86.9	13.1
25.00 Central	62.9	27.1	Drop in Status	
33.00 Central	76.5	23.5	Drop in Status	
34.00 Central	87.0	13.0	Divided	
34.02 Southeast	#	#	86.0	14.0
43.00 Southeast	92.1	6.9	Divided	
43.01 Southeast	#	#	82.4	17.6
43.02 Southeast	#	#	83.9	16.1
43.03 Southeast	#	#	84.8	15.3
	Mean 86.3	Mean 12.3	Mean 87.9	Mean 12.1
Medium High Income Neighborhoods				
Census Tract — Area				
1.00 Northeast	94.0	6.0	Divided	
1.02 Northeast	#	#	85.7	14.3
1.03 Northeast	#	#	86.7	13.3
2.00 Northeast	94.8	5.2	Divided	
2.01 Northeast	#	#	84.5	15.5
2.02 Northeast	#	#	88.9	11.1
7.00 Central	...	...	89.6	10.4
9.00 Central	79.8	21.2	63.8	36.3
10.00 Central	87.9	22.1	Drop in Status	
24.00 Central	77.1	22.9	Drop in Status	
31.00 Central	76.1	23.9	32.5	67.5
33.00 Central	See above		63.2	36.8
34.01 Central	#	#	61.8	38.2
41.00 Southeast	33.0	67.0	Divided	
41.01 Southeast	#	#	45.8	54.2
41.02 Southeast	#	#	48.5	51.5
	Mean 77.5	Mean 24.0	Mean 68.3	Mean 31.7

* S.S. = Spanish Surname

... not available

** Includes the "selected exclusive neighborhoods."

\# Included with "mother tract" before division. For example, tract 1.01 was part of tract 1.00 in 1965.

Source: Cole's Directory of El Paso, 1965, 1975. Data collected by Jose P. Arce.

Table 10

Mayors and County Judges,
City of El Paso and El Paso County, 1850-1979

Mayors, City of El Paso		County Judges, El Paso County	
Ben S. Dowell	1873-75	C. A. Hoppin	1850
Melton A. Jones	1875-76	A. C. Hyde	1850-52
Solomon Schultz	1880-81	Simeon Hart	1852-54
Joseph Magoffin	1881-85	A. C. Hyde	1854-56
R. C. Lightbody	1885-89	Henry L. Dexter	1856-58
Richard Caples	1889-93	John L. McCarty	1858-60
W. H. Austin	1893-94	Henry Gillett	1860-66
Adolph Solomon	1894	Albert H. French	1866-70
A. K. Albers	1894	Máximo Aranda	1870-72
Robert F. Johnson	1894	Telésforo Montes	1872-74
Robert Campbell	1895-97	José M. Gonzáles	1874-76
Joseph Magoffin	1897-1901	Joseph Magoffin	1876-77
Ben F. Hammett	1901-03	G. M. García	1877-78
C. R. Morehead	1903-05	J. B. Leahy	1878-79
Charles Davis, Sr.	1905-07	José M. Gonzáles	1879-80
J. U. Sweeney	1907-10	Baptiste Mariany	1880
W. F. Robinson	1910	H. C. Cook	1880
C. E. Kelly	1910-15	José Baca	1880-82
Tom Lea	1915-17	E. J. Orn	1882
Charles Davis, Jr.	1917-23	Marsh Rogers	1882-86
R. M. Dudley	1923-25	W. M. Chandler	1886-88
H. P. Jackson	1925-27	J. E. Townsend	1888-90
R. E. Thomason	1927-31	Allen I. Blacker	1890-92
A. B. Poe	1931	F. E. Hunter	1892-96
R. E. Sherman	1931-37	James R. Harper	1896-1902
M. A. Harlan	1937-39	Joseph Sweeney	1902-08
J. E. Anderson	1939-47	A. S. J. Eylar	1908-14
Dan R. Ponder	1947-49	Adrian Pool	1914-16
Dan P. Duke	1949-51	E. B. McClintock	1916-32
Fred Hervey	1951-55	Joseph McGill	1932-42
W. T. Misenheimer	1955	M. Scarborough	1942-46
Tom E. Rogers	1955-57	Victor M. Gilbert	1946-52
R. L. Telles, Jr.	1957-61	H. McGovern, Jr.	1952-58
Ralph Seitsinger	1961-63	W. W. Bean	1958-62
J. F. Williams	1963-69	C. R. Shulte	1962
Ashley G. Classen	1969	Glenn Woodard	1962-65
Peter De Wetter	1969-71	Travis Johnson	1965-66
Bert Williams	1971-73	Colbert Coldwell	1966-70
Fred Hervey	1973-75	Udell Moore	1971-79
Don Henderson	1975-77		
Ray Salazar	1977-79		

Sources: El Paso City and El Paso County government offices.

Upper + lower case

Table 11

SPANISH SURNAME MEMBERS OF THE CITY COUNCIL, EL PASO, 1873-1977

Years	Total Members	Spanish surname Members
1873-1875	6	0
1875-1880	6	3
1880-1881	6	1
1881-1883	6	0
1883-1885	6	0
1885-1887	6	0
1887-1889	8	0
1891-1893	5*	0
1893-1894	5*	0
1894-1895	4	0
1895-1897	5*	0
1897-1899	4	0
1899-1901	4	0
1901-1903	8	0
1903-1905	8	0
1905-1907	8	0
1907-1909	4	0
1909-1911	5*	0
1911-1913	4	0
1913-1915	4	0
1915-1917	4	0
1917-1919	5*	0
1919-1921	4	0
1921-1923	5*	0
1923-1925	4	0
1925-1927	5*	0
1927-1929	6*	0
1929-1931	6*	0
1931-1933	4	0
1933-1935	4	0
1935-1937	4	0
1937-1939	4	0
1939-1941	4	0
1941-1943	6*	0
1943-1945	5*	0
1945-1947	4	0
1947-1949	4	0
1949-1951	4	0
1951-1953	4	1
1953-1955	4	1
1955-1957	4	1
1957-1961	4	0
1961-1963	4	0
1963-1965	4	1
1965-1967	4	1
1967-1969	4	1
1969-1971	4	1
1971-1973	4	2
1973-1975	4	2
1975-1977	4	2

*Includes individuals elected to fill out unexpired terms of members who left office.

Source: El Paso city government offices.

Table 12

SPANISH SURNAME MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES,
EL PASO INDEPENDENT SCHOOL DISTRICT, 1900-1976

YEAR	TOTAL MEMBERS	SPANISH SURNAME MEMBERS	YEAR	TOTAL MEMBERS	SPANISH SURNAME MEMBERS
1900	7	0	1938	7	0
1901	7	0	1939	7	0
1902	7	0	1940	7	0
1903	7	0	1941	7	0
1904	7	0	1942	7	0
1905	7	0	1943	7	0
1906	7	0	1944	7	0
1907	7	0	1945	7	0
1908	7	0	1946	7	1
1909	7	0	1947	7	1
1910	7	0	1948	7	1
1911	7	0	1949	7	1
1912	7	1	1950	7	1
1913	7	0	1951	7	1
1914	7	1	1952	7	1
1915	7	0	1953	7	1
1916	7	0	1954	7	1
1917	7	0	1955	7	1
1918	7	0	1956	7	1
1919	7	1	1957	7	1
1920	7	1	1958	7	1
1921	7	1	1959	7	1
1922	7	0	1960	7	1
1923	7	0	1961	7	1
1924	7	0	1962	7	1
1925	7	0	1963	7	1
1926	7	0	1964	7	1
1927	7	0	1965	7	1
1928	7	0	1966	7	1
1929	7	0	1967	7	1
1930	7	0	1968	7	2
1931	7	0	1969	7	2
1932	7	0	1970	7	2
1933	7	0	1971	7	2
1934	7	0	1972	7	2
1935	7	0	1973	7	2
1936	7	0	1974	7	2
1937	7	0	1975	7	2
			1976	7	2

Source: El Paso City School Reports. Data compiled by Samuel Torres.

Table 13

GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, BY SURNAME
COUNTY OF EL PASO, 1950-1976

	Elected Officials[a]			Appointed Officials[b]		
Year	Total	Spanish Surname	%Spanish Surname	Total	Spanish Surname	%Spanish Surname
1950	21	1	4.8	7	0	0.0
1955	19	1	5.3	7	2	28.6
1960	22	0	0.0	7	2	28.6
1965	22	4	18.2	7	1	14.3
1970	28	9	32.1	7	2	28.6
1975	26	9	34.6	7	1	14.3
1976	37	15	40.5	11	3	27.3

[a]County Judge
County Commissioners
District Judges
Domestic Relations Judge
County Court Judges
Justice of the Peace
District Attorney
County Attorney
District Clerk
County Clerk
Tax Assessor-Collector
Sheriff
Constables
Treasurer
Surveyor

[b]Adult Probation Director
Ascarate Park Supervisor
City-County Bldg. Engineer
Coliseum and Liberty Hall Director
County Auditor
Librarian
County Engineer
Data Processing Director
General Assistance Director
Purchasing Agent
Veterans Assistance Officer

NOTE: Source does not list names of all office holders for all years which accounts for differences in the "total" columns over the years.

Source: El Paso City Directories, 1950-1976. Data collected by Jeri Martínez.

Upper + lower case

Table 14

GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, BY SURNAME
CITY OF EL PASO, 1945-1976

	Elected Officials[a]			Appointed Officials[b]			Civil Service[c]		
Year	Total	Spanish Surname	%Spanish Surname	Total	Spanish Surname	%Spanish Surname	Total	Spanish Surname	%Spanish Surname
1945	7	0	0.0	3	0	0.0	12	0	0.0
1950	7	0	0.0	3	0	0.0	16	0	0.0
1955	7	1	14.3	3	0	0.0	12	0	0.0
1960	8	1	12.5	3	0	0.0	16	1	6.3
1965	8	1	12.5	4	0	0.0	16	1	6.3
1970	9	2	22.2	4	0	0.0	16	1	6.3
1975	8	4	50.0	5	1	20.0	12	1	8.3
1976	9	3	33.3	5	1	20.0	17	4	23.5

[a]
mayor
aldermen (4)
tax assessor and collector
municipal court judges (3)

[b]
airport manager
city attorney
director of museum
executive asst. to mayor
manager of water utilities

[c]
police chief
city clerk
city engineer
civil defense and safety
building official
comptroller
director of personnel
planning director
purchasing director
director of public works
director of traffic and transportation
fire chief
municipal court clerk
superintendant of parks and recreation
sanitation supervisor
street superintendant
civic center director

Source: El Paso City Directories, 1945-1976. Data collected by Jeri Martínez.

Table 15

REPRESENTATIVES FROM EL PASO
BY SURNAME, TEXAS STATE LEGISLATURE, 1945-1976

Legislature	HOUSE		SENATE	
	Total	Spanish Surname	Total	Spanish Surname
49th (1945-1946)	2	0	1	0
50th (1947-1948)	2	0	1	0
51st (1949-1950)	2	0	1	0
52nd (1951-1952)	2	0	1	0
53rd (1953-1954)	4	0	1	0
54th (1955-1956)	4	0	1	0
55th (1957-1958)	4	0	1	0
56th (1959-1960)	4	1	1	0
57th (1961-1962)	4	1	1	0
58th (1963-1964)	5	0	1	0
59th (1965-1966)	5	1	1	0
60th (1967-1968)	5	3	1	0
61st (1969-1970)	5	3	1	0
62nd (1971-1972)	5	2	1	0
63rd (1973-1974)	5	0	1	1
64th (1975-1976)	5	1	1	1
65th (1977-1978)	5	2	1	1

Source: Texas Almanacs, 1945-1977.

Table 16

DIRECTORS AND HEADS OF DIVISIONS AND DEPARTMENTS BY SURNAME, EL PASO PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1947-1973

Year	Total	Spanish surname *
1947	9	0
1948	11	0
1949	12	0
1950	13	0
1951	17	0
1952	16	0
1953	12	0
1954	18	0
1955	20	0
1956	21	0
1957	21	0
1958	19	0
1959	18	0
1960	24	2
1961	-	-
1962	25	2
1963	-	-
1964	29	2
1965	33	2
1966	39	3
1967	39	3
1968	38	4
1969	-	-
1970	40	3
1971	41	4
1972	49	4
1973	52	8

*During the entire period there was not a single Spanish Surname Superintendent, Assistant Superintendent, or Deputy Superintendent.

Source: Directory of El Paso Public Schools.
David Alvarado, Et. Al., Plaintiffs, vs. El Paso Independent School District, Et. Al., Defendants, School Desegregation Suit, EP-70-CA-279, U.S. District Court for the Western District of Texas, El Paso Division (1975). Plaintiffs' Exhibit 15iF.

Upper & lower case

Table 17

ELEMENTARY AND HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS,
TOTAL AND MEXICAN AMERICANS, EL PASO PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1921-1975

Year	Total	Mexican Americans	%Mexican Americans
1921-1922	514	3	.6
1925-1926	501	1	.2
1930-1931	769	12	1.6
1935-1936	585	7	1.2
1941-1942	603	17	2.8
1945-1946	592	18	3.0
1949-1950	777	38	4.9
1950-1951	892	57	6.4
1952-1953	876	71	8.1
1954-1955	1,054	116	11.0
1955-1956	1,351	135	10.0
1957-1958	1,413	168	11.9
1958-1959	1,487	215	14.5
1959-1960	1,722	228	13.2
1960-1961	1,842	255	13.8
1961-1962	2,012	302	15.0
1962-1963	2,128	318	14.9
1963-1964	2,258	338	15.0
1964-1965	2,360	399	16.9
1970-1971	2,545	507	19.9
1974-1975	2,640	734	27.8

Source: David Alvarado, Et. Al., Plaintiffs, vs. El Paso Independent School District, Et. Al., Defendants, School Desegregation Suit, EP-70-CA-279, U.S. District Court for the Western District of Texas, El Paso Division (1975). Plaintiffs' Exhibits 3, 151J, 151R.

Upper + lower case

Table 18

FACULTY AND ADMINISTRATORS, BY SURNAME,
U.T. EL PASO, 1914-197

	Total	Spanish-Surname	Percent Spanish-Surname
1914-1915	12	0	0.0
1919-1920	25	0	0.0
1924-1925	20	0	0.0
1929-1930	54	1	1.9
1934-1935	67	0	0.0
1939-1940	86	1	1.2
1944-1945	108	3	2.8
1949-1950	209	3	1.4
1954-1955	199	6	3.0
1959-1960	190	4	2.1
1964-1965	294	15	5.1
1965-1966	351	12	3.4
1966-1967	351	14	4.0
1968-1969	390	16	4.1
1969-1970	414	16	3.9
1970-1971	419	20	4.8
1971-1972	467	23	4.9
1972-1973	491	36	7.3
1973-1974	473	38	8.0
1975-1976	448	38	8.5

Source: U.T. El Paso Catalogues. Data collected by Daniel Mendoza.

Upper + Lower case

Table 19

SPANISH SURNAME INDIVIDUALS INVOLVED IN EXOGAMOUS MARRIAGES, EL PASO COUNTY, 1880-1970

Year	Percent
1880-1881	12%
1900	13
1910	9
1920	8
1930	9
1940	16
1950	14
1960	19
1970	24

	FEMALES	MALES
1880-1881	6%	1%
1900	11	3
1910	6	3
1920	6	2
1930	7	3
1940	11	6
1950	9	6
1960	13	8
1970	18	8

Source: El Paso County Marriage Records. Data supplied by María E. Ruiz and Rudolph O. de la Garza.